1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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462
gence. She must also beat and dew barkcloth." Plaiting and tapa making 562
should be mentioned among the woman's industries. Contrary to Geiseler's
statement (87, p. 41) women never made nets (190, p. 430).

Misled by their preconceived ideas regarding the status of women in 562
primitive societies, the missionaries assumed that before the introduction of 593
Christianity the Easter Island women were drudges. The only recorded in-
stance in which a woman was submitted to drudgery is that in which a chief
named Manu walked carefree while his wife bent double under a heavy load. [482]
When the missionary remonstrated, the chief answered, "That is woman's
work. He appeared very much ashamed when the missionary compelled him
to help with his wife's burden (230, vol. 6, p. 124).

As the general tendency of missionaries is to depict the character of the natives in the darkest colors in order to stress the benefits of their own influence, the mistreatment of women which they report so complacently cannot be accepted as entirely true. Roussel (190, p. 430) says with indignation: "How many times have I not seen husbands striking their wives with a knife on the face or head with the intention of killing or mutilating them!" Such brutalities occur occasionally at present but are not typical of the ordinary behavior of men toward their wives.

Strict separation of sexes during meals does not seem to have been en- 264
forced on Easter Island, at least in daily life. Perhaps chiefs or priests ate 562
apart as is testified by the passage below and by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p 124)
who alludes to the fact that sometimes no place was reserved for women at
banquets. Roussel (190, p. 430) says:

> No tapu prevents men and women from eating together or with their children of either sex, but the husband, being the strongest, always gets the choicest parts. He must be very much attached to his wife or children before he will give them an equal portion or even leave any portion for them if he is eating chicken or fish. Some husbands receive their food separately.

Divorce

Viriamo was married three times during her long life. She left her first 586 ●
husband who was unsatisfactory and went to live with a Miru man in Anakena. Her third husband was a Tupa-hotu, the father of Tepano. The apparent ease with which she left her first husband suggests that marriage ties were not very strong in the old days. Testimony of the early missionaries verifies this. "The slightest disagreement or disgust between the consorts was sufficient to break the ties that united them" (190, p. 466). "The islanders of Rapa-nui do not consider marriage as an unbreakable tie. Husband and wife were allowed to part by common consent" (230, vol. 6, p. 122). "Divorce in general was very simple. When the husband said to his wife that he did not want her any more, the separation was made. The wife had the same right as her husband" (87, p. 29).

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586 Today separation is as simple and easy as in the past. Many men leave their wives because they are old or have become tiresome. Recently an English administrator tried to force the natives to live again with their original spouses, but so many men had separated and formed new ties that his experiment was decidedly unsuccessful.

Adultery

837 Unfaithfulness on the part of the husband is common and its discovery brings about quarrels which the men try to avoid. According to Dr. Drapkin who had the confidence of the natives, adultery on the part of the wife is not uncommon though not so frequent as has been assumed. A husband leaves a wife guilty of adultery only if her relations with another man have become notorious. So far as we know, a woman is seldom punished by thrashing. Sometimes the revenge of the outraged husband consists in taking away his wife's clothes, thus preventing her from going to church. Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told, probably by Salmon, that adultery was frequent but rarely discovered because the participants used such extraordinary tricks to avoid being recognized. For instance, the men are said to have worn the long gowns of [292] women and hats of horse hair (a kind of wig) called *iveve* so as to be taken for women in the dark. This statement may refer to a particular anecdote or incident, but it would be rash to consider wigs as being in general use by lovers of married women.

837 Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) says that the woman who was suspected of sinful relations was in danger of losing her life, but Geiseler (87, p. 29) 684 states that the death penalty was inflicted only if the guilty woman was the wife of a chief. A chiefess was usually killed by her husband or his brother. Among commoners the woman was severely thrashed or cast out of the house, and the marriage was dissolved. A jealous husband sometimes killed his wife's lover, as in the following tale:

539 While her husband went fishing, a woman fell in love with an orphan named Moa-
937 ure-nui (The-cock-with-the-big-penis) and slept with him. When the husband returned
831 from fishing and landed at Puapau, the woman went to the shore to take the fish. But the people shouted, "Where are you going for your fish? You have no right to it. Where is the fish of Moa-ure-nui?" The husband heard them.

The woman took the fish, went back to her house, and cooked it. Her son said, "Give me the fish with the red tail." But the woman answered, "I shall take the fish with the red tail to Moa-ure-nui so that he will lick my things." The child was ashamed and did not speak again. After the woman had eaten some fish, she took a bundle to Moa-ure-nui and stayed with him. Her husband found them; he killed Moa-ure-nui and buried his corpse in the ahu. The woman took the penis, wrapped it in a piece of tapa, and wept over it. All night she wept and the next day her husband found her in a paper mulberry pit still weeping. He took the parcel from her, tore it out, smashed it, pounded it. Then he said to the woman, "Now go down; your man came back." The woman returned to her house but did not weep because her husband had destroyed the thing she had.

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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584 in-law as a gift. The father-in-law accepts the gift and immediately gives a rooster
574 to each of his brothers and sisters. If one of his brothers has given a feast in his
431 honor,[6] he will then take the remainder of the string of birds and drape it over
[606 the neck of this particular brother. In doing this he gives the brother the honor of starting the apportioning of the roosters among the members of the extended family. The brother so honored takes the roosters and gives them to his wife who, after taking one herself, passes the string down through the relatives until each has one of the birds. In this act the brother has, in effect, been given the same honor as that of the "secretary," or *motuha*, who distributes the gifts at the time of a wedding.

174 The strong position of a wife's father may hark back to an earlier custom
584 whereby a mother or father, noting a hard-working bachelor with a good planta-
606 tion of yams, *camote*, sugar cane, etc., presented their daughter to the man for
581 his acceptance or rejection. Neither the desires of the daughter nor the age of the bachelor in relation to the girl's was considered.

584 The operation of such a marriage was described as follows. Noting a hard-working bachelor and seeing in him an opportunity for a "wealthy" marriage for their daughter, the father of the girl would either send his daughter to the man, or more commonly, take her to the bachelor's home. Upon entering the house, the father would ask, "Where are you?" and the bachelor would answer, "Here I am," whereupon the father would leave the girl in the house and say, "Here." If the bachelor accepted the girl he immediately went outside and gathered together chickens, yams, *camotes*, and other foods to make a big *umu* feast for the
[586] girl's father. However, if at some future date the girl's father felt that his daughter's husband was no longer working hard in his fields or at fishing, he had the right to come and take her away and give her to some other man. In extreme cases a girl was allowed to leave her husband and return home.

177 Today such forced marriages no longer exist, but a father may counsel his
584 daughter to marry some hard-working bachelor of his choice. If she refuses he will wait awhile and again counsel her, repeating this advice until she marries the man. As one of my informants put it, "He will keep counseling her until the idea
[581] and the advantages of such a marriage are well in her head." In such marriages one interesting change has been made. No daughter is "counseled" into a marriage with a man too much older than she, for, "See how much older brothers fight with their too young sisters — it is the same with such a marriage."

6 Presumably this refers to a *koro*, although according to Métraux such feasts honoring a brother were not common.

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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DIVORCE

Island marriage appears to be a firmer institution today than it was in the not-too-distant past. This is in part due to Chilean governmental authority backing the church in its taboo against divorce. When divorces do occur, they tend to follow the early Polynesian custom of an unceremonious departure of one of the mates. Owing to the island's government frowning upon such action, and its active interest in making the natives understand that the question of divorce is a legal matter, the Easter Islander's attitude toward divorce is at present in a state of flux. 177 586 [797] 648

Jorge Tepano reflected the church and governmental attitude when, in discussing the problem, he took the firm stand that divorce could only be obtained on the basis of adultery and that it was for the governor, in his capacity of judge, to determine who was the guilty party and to make a property settlement on the basis of existing Chilean laws. However, this strongly acculturated view is not necessarily adhered to most commonly. Governor Curti informed me of the marriage of a forty-five year old native to a girl of seventeen. This man built a home alongside that of the girl's parents in an effort to make her comfortable, but the girl refused to live with him in the new house. Becoming angry, he tore the house down and put it up on his own parcel of land, demanding that the girl come to live with him. She again refused, and the matter was taken before the governor. There apparently is no law that specifically demands that a wife live with her husband or, if it exists, it is unenforceable on the island. After various attempts at persuasion, the governor used his prerogative of turning over the woman's ration allowance of foods and dry goods to her husband, but when I left the island this action had had no effect upon the woman, her own family having taken up the burden of supporting her. Officially, as long as the girl did not legally marry again, her action could only be looked upon as a separation, though in native eyes it constitutes a divorce in the old style and is accepted as such. Whereas marriages solemnized by civil and religious ceremonies run into legal difficulties in the event of a divorce, common law marriages appear not to have this difficulty, in spite of the fact that, though legally not recognized, they are tacitly accepted officially to the extent that in the island's rationing lists such illegal matches are listed as family units.

DEATH

The Easter Islander appears to have no personal fear of death and, for the most part, looks upon it from a rather fatalistic point of view. A notable exception to this is seen in his superstitious attitude toward Rongo Rongo caves, whose 761 [776]

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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of the parents nor the dead child's brothers and sisters may eat the food. Juan Atan explained this taboo by saying that the *umu* was the dead man's body and, should the immediate family eat it, something bad would happen to the entire extended family. He further explained that such an *umu* must be given by the family, otherwise something terrible would happen to them.

Viewing the *umu* as part of the dead man's body may represent an adoption from the church's taking of the sacrament, yet, considering the earlier practice of cannibalism on the island, such a view may hark back to pre-Christian times.

Originally such a death feast was held on the day of death, but its celebration so irked Father Estella that some years ago he condemned the practice and the natives agreed to hold it on the day after death. It now appears that this has been further modified so that it is held on the day of burial.

STABILITY AND CHANGE

The information reported here is admittedly incomplete. Be this as it may, the data, when compared with Métraux's account of ancient life cycle customs on Easter Island, shows a surprising number of carry-overs into modern times.[7] In the course of our work we have also gathered heretofore unreported information on Rapa-nui customs which seem to be indigenous and of some antiquity, notably the delicate situation of the first born son and his relationship with his father, and the position of authority of the parents-in-law of a married couple.

The foremost changes in the life-cycle segment of the social pattern are to be noted in that sector which would most interest the church. Since the Catholic church represents the earliest and most prolonged actively acculturating influence on the island, this is wholly expectable. In the realm of marriage, for example, the church has been included, rather than substituted, in that to the simple rite of marriage involving consent of both families, gift exchange, and marriage feast, the church ritual has been added. Interestingly enough, the church appears to have had little effect upon the indigenous concept of divorce which, until very recently, continued to be an unceremonious splitting up of a husband and wife relationship upon the slightest provocation. Here, however, the government has stepped in and, through attempted Naval enforcement of Chilean divorce laws, has introduced a change in the native idea of divorce to where it now involves the factors of blame and division of community property. For those who have not yet accepted this foreign concept, the old method of divorce has met with such troublesome difficul-

7 Alfred Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island* (Bulletin 160, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, pp. 101-119, Honolulu, 1940).

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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177 tics from the island's administrators that its incidence in the past few years is said
586 to have dropped noticeably.
648
177 It is in the matter of death and burial ritual that the church has shown a
764 strong influence amounting to almost complete substitution of foreign for indig-
797 enous custom. However, the ancient feast formerly held on the day of death con-
tinues to be celebrated, along with the enforcement of certain eating taboos on the members of the deceased's family. The only influence the church has had on this celebration is to change its time to the day of burial. Whereas most of the natives are now seemingly content to have their deceased relatives go through the church ritual and be buried in the Catholic cemetery, I gathered a number of contemporary accounts of elderly men who, becoming ill, have gone to a secret cave to die. During our visit one old man became sick and disappeared from the village for almost two weeks. Since he worked for the sheep ranch, the administration attempted to find out where he had gone and what had happened to him. Considerable questioning brought forth the same answer, that the old man believed he was about to die and had probably gone to his secret cave.[8] In time he returned, well and healthy, but remained completely vague as to where he had been during his absence. As for the burial of the dead in ancient *ahus*, a secretly practiced custom in 1880,[9] I could learn nothing and, from all indications, this practice has ceased.

177 Beside the government's influence in lowering the incidence of divorce, it has
844 been responsible in no small degree for a certain amount of change in the early
[648] sector of the life cycle. Thus, with the presence of a Naval-controlled hospital, doctor, and midwife, it must be presumed that much of the ancient practice surrounding the delivery of a baby, including the method of tying and severing the umbilical cord, has given way to more modern medical practices. However, it is
114 interesting to note that the early custom of smearing red ocher into the umbilical
177 wound continues up to the present time, along with the ceremonial *umu* given by
852 the father's family to that of the mother, and at which time the mother must still eat the first food.[10] In this connection it should be noted that, while Métraux refers to this *umu* as a feast, my own informants seemed to regard it more as a
[178] ceremonial partaking of food.[11] That such may be the case is further strengthened by their description of an immediately following feast for friends and relatives in celebration of the first born child. The latter is not recorded by Métraux and

8 For an unsuccessful attempt at self-interment in a secret cave in 1922, see P. Sebastián Englert, *La Tierra de Hotu Matu'a* (Santiago, 1948), p. 52.

9 Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

10 *Idem*, pp. 102-103.

11 *Idem*, p. 103.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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latter endeavor to "bull" the market, while those of the boy do their utmost to "bear" the commodity under appraisement, the price is finally agreed upon and the bargain is concluded, the consideration being a specified quantity of sugar cane, taro, sweet potatoes, chickens, etc., to be paid the girl's parents. A day is then fixed upon; relatives and friends are notified; due preparations are made at the girl's house, to which the articles mentioned have meanwhile been sent, and at the time appointed, all interested being present, a grand feast is held, at which, as a rule, everything edible, that is to say the price of the girl, is consumed. That important business being finished, bride and groom retire to the residence of the parents of the latter, by whom the bride is adopted as their own child, and thenceforth the parties are husband and wife.

The cares and the obligations of matrimony, as well as of parentage, sit lightly upon the Rapa Nuiis. Although marital infidelity may be rare, it is stated that a husband will, in consideration of a certain quantity of produce, make over all right in his wife to another for a specified period, at the expiration of which time he will take back the wife and she again becomes the partner of his joys and sorrows. This might be called polygamy in another form.

Fixing the average at three gives, I think, a very fair estimate of the number of children to a family, and the lack of fecundity among them will readily be explained by the early child marriages, customs, habits of life, intermarriage, and the degeneracy of the race.

In these people the lower part of the body and extremities were found well developed, and in the women more so than would be supposed from their slight physique. In the latter the skin was lighter in color in the unexposed than in the exposed parts. The hips are broad and full, the thighs large, round, and firm, and legs straight and tapering to the ankles, which, with the feet, were small and delicate. They are but sparingly hirsute. The breasts of those examined were moderately large, full, round, firm, and carried well up on the chest. The nipples were quite small, but with good-sized areola, which latter presented, in some instances, that peculiar puffy, translucent appearance, as though filled with serum, often seen throughout the other Pacific Islands. The Rapa Nuiis differed from these in that the areola was not so large nor of so deep a tint, the writer having seen them in other islands covering half the breast and nearly black in color.

The skin of the woman examined, where not covered with tattooing, was nearly as light in color as that of the average brunette, and very fine, smooth, soft, and delicate.

There seems to be no doubt that, with all their apparent mildness and good nature, the baser passions and savage instincts of these people are strong within them, and instances of inhumanity occasionally crop out among them. A case which came under the notice of Dr. Whitaker was that of a woman who was suffering from spinal deformity, the result

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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of injuries inflicted by her husband in a moment of blind rage over some grievance, fancied or real. In this connection it may be mentioned that subsequently this same woman went to nurse Pakomeo, previously mentioned, who was ill at the time. Upon the recovery, so well pleased were they with each other that she abandoned her cruel spouse, remained with Pakomeo, was living with him as his wife at the time of our visit, and the arrangement seemed mutually satisfactory.

The custom of tattooing has fallen off within the last few years and is now rarely or never practiced. It is only among the adults, more especially among the older people, that good examples may be found. Unlike the inhabitants of other islands, where a standard pattern is adhered to, the Rapa Nuiis seem to have affected no uniform fashion nor limited themselves to any particular style. The custom obtained alike among the male and female members of the community. Generally speaking, the ornamentation was as follows: A narrow band around the upper part of the forehead, at the edge of the roots of the hair, with little balls, each joined to the band by a stem, pendant from it, the whole simulating a coronet; a line around the outer free edge, the helix, and lobe of the ear; a line around the edge of the lips; the neck in its entire circumference, either in straight lines, vertical or oblique, or with the lines wavy; three radiating exclamation marks beneath each ear, common among women at the present day; a girdle about the waist, in broad bands, with an attempt at lace work, or fringe, from which rise heavy lines, at the ends of which, toward the axillæ, are fanciful figures resembling faces, with a larger face in the middle of the back; fine lines down the thighs anteriorly; heavy, undulating bands posteriorly, running over the buttocks toward the waist; wavy or straight perpendicular lines, terminating in points, around the legs, and elsewhere.

The material used in tattooing is made of the soot obtained by burning a plant with a leaf similar to our Indian corn, and called by the natives *ti*, moistened with the expressed juice of a berry similar to our pokeberry, and called *poporo*. Pieces of bone, finished like a fine-toothed comb, or fish bones made fast to a short stick, are used to prick the skin by holding in contact with the surface and striking it a brisk blow.

Before the advent of the missionaries the Rapa Nuiis possessed scant wardrobes. They made a coarse cloth woven of the fibers of the inner bark of the *mahuti*, Chinese paper mulberry, or of the *burau*, another fibrous tree, which they wore about the shoulders and loins. This cloth was also used, in the manner of a shield, as a protection in battle against the enemy's spears, which latter was, with the exception of the war club, their principal weapon, the head being made of obsidian, numbers of which may be found on the island. They also made siapu, or tapa, as do the natives of other islands, by beating out the bark and wearing the same as a breechcloth. With the coming of the missionaries civilized clothing was introduced and is now generally worn, comprising coat, shirt and trousers, among the men, and a loose gown of cotton mate-

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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115 the projecting noses, excavated on the south-eastern slope of Raraku (fig. 73) and, when she wanted water, rather than cross the boundary and go round to the lake by the gap, through the hostile dwellers on the western side, she used to clamber with her vessel up the boundary rift in the cliff face. There was one [586] white child, who died young, but her marriage was not a success, and Viriamo left the man and went off to live with one of the Miru clan at Anakena. His house already contained a wife and family, also four brothers, but they all got on quite happily together. [592] She had five children by this man, who, like their father, [595] were all white; four of them, however, died in infancy. This was the result of the parents having most unfortunately fallen foul [754] of an old man, whose cloak had been taken without his consent, and who had accordingly prophesied disaster. The remaining child, a daughter, was living and unmarried when we were on the island. The last husband was the most satisfactory of the three; he was a Tupahotu living near Tongariki. She was handed over to him as a matter of family arrangement, in discharge of a debt, but she was quite amenable to the exchange, and was very fond of him. He was light in colour, but her only child by this marriage, our friend Juan, was dark, taking, as he said, "after my mam-ma."

593 The women do not seem, judging by existing remains, to have had always a happy time. Dr. Keith, who examined the skulls collected by the Expedition, concludes his report on one of the female specimens as follows: "The most likely explanation is that the indent of the left temple was the cause of death, produced by the blow of a club, and that the suppuration and repair of the right side has been also produced by a former blow which failed to prove fatal. Two other skulls, also those of women, show indented fractures in the left temporal region."

764 Any deficiency at marriages, in the way of social festivity, was made up at funerals. These were attended by persons from [602] all over the island, for "when they were not fighting, they were all cousins." In answer to the remark that "considering the population their whole time must have gone in this way," it was cheerfully observed that "they had nothing else to do, so they all went, everybody took food and everybody ate." The parents of one of our friends, Kapiera, lived at Anakena, but he was born on the south side of the island near Vaihu "when his